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Is It Un-Christian To Believe in Segregation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE M. GRANT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, Walter B. Jones, presiding judge, 15th Judicial Circuit of Alabama, recently delivered an address, "Is It Un-Christian To Believe in Segregation?" before the Baptist Laymen of Alabama.

Judge Jones' father was a gallant soldier, a distinguished Governor of Alabama and an outstanding Federal Judge.

Judge Jones is a deep student of the Bible and is one who for many years has taken an active interest in the religious, social, civic, and business life of Montgomery. He is the president of the Alabama Bible Society, Jones Law School, past national archon—president—of the SAE Fraternity, an author of lawbooks, writer, and has had many honors—too numerous to mention—bestowed upon him. It can, therefore, be said that he knows whereof he speaks.

IS IT UN-CHRISTIAN TO BELIEVE IN SEGREGATION?

(Remarks of Walter B. Jones, presiding judge, 15th Judicial Circuit of Alabama, before the Baptist Laymen of Alabama, at Montgomery, July 11, 1957)

It is a distinguished privilege to be here this evening and to speak before you, the Baptist Laymen of Alabama, your friends and guests.

You stand unflinchingly for the ancient principles of separation of church and state, segregated schools and churches, local self-government and of race. You are doing a man's part in preserving for your people the true teachings of the Bible and to keep pure the blood of the white race.

You seek to promote the active participation in the affairs of your churches of all good men, and you repudiate and reject all philosophical and sociological rules laid down by modern, so-called prophets, of whom the Prophet Earl is the archetype.

It is good for our State and her people that you Baptist Laymen of Alabama have organized for action. Plato, the Greek philosopher, said many years ago:

"All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing."

You realize the truth of the statement and you are doing something to block the forces of evil and discord in religion.

The times and conditions in which we live make it necessary that all church people, who insist upon their rights to worship their

God according to the dictates of their conscience, must organize. We must wage, at all times, the Christian and honorable struggle for religious freedom. Liberty-loving Americans must stand up for the rights of their churches. We must speak the truth and "if an offense comes out of the truth," wrote St. Jerome, "it is better that the offense come than that the truth be concealed."

SEGREGATION DOES NOT CONFLICT WITH TEACHINGS OF CHRIST

In all the discussion today about integrating the white and Negro races in the public schools, in all public recreation facilities, and in the churches, we hear it constantly said, day in and day out, by vast numbers of deceived and misguided people, that it is un-Christian to believe in the ancient and time-honored doctrine of separation of the races, that segregation is in conflict with the spirit and teachings of Christ and the Apostles.

It is drilled into our ears that those who conscientiously oppose integration in our churches are acting contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and lack Christian sympathy and Christian idealism.

It is always safe to follow the dictates of one's conscience, and conscience is a knowledge or feeling of right and wrong, with a compulsion to do right. Conscience has been defined by Browning as:

"The great beacon light God sets in all.

The conscience of each bosom."

And, of course, the very first step to having a religion is that there must be liberty of conscience.

Others, who have never experienced life in communities where a large part of the population is of the Negro race, tell us that, "integration is the Christian way," and that the believers in segregation are identifying themselves with the forces of iniquity. We are asked to believe that, "the segregation pattern is out of harmony with the spirit and teaching of the Bible."

The World Council of Churches says segregation is, "abhorrent to God"; that "segregation is essentially and necessarily a sin."

It is regrettable, too, that many of our great Protestant denominations are using as reference material in their church schools pamphlets of the United Nations which are frequently void of Christ and his teachings, and some of our denominations are using pamphlets and material of the National Council of Churches, which have been condemned as being "frequently socialistic and political."

NAME CALLING

Whenever name calling is resorted to, this is an unfailing sign that the ideas of the name callers are without merit—that their reasoning won't stand examination and analysis.

Washington, the Father of our Country, was called a rebel; Jefferson and Tom Paine

were called atheists; Lee and Jackson were called traitors; people who lived in the North and sympathized with the Confederate States when the South was fighting for its independence, and did not cheer Lincoln's invasion and subjugation of the South, were called copperheads; and back in the eighties those who bolted the Republican Party because they believed in independence in political thought were called mugwumps.

And so today, those who have suddenly become disciples of the prophet Earl the First, realizing how untenable their position is, seek to terrify and frighten true Christians from their conscientious convictions by branding them as un-Christian, that is, lacking in the Christian spirit.

According to the base standards of these self-righteous critics, a person may love justice, do mercy, walk humbly before his God, and follow the teachings of the Master; and, yet, because the beacon light God set in his bosom, all the teachings of history, all the experiences of mankind, will not permit him to believe in integration, he is denounced as un-Christian by people who would lead their race, and their Nation, to destruction.

Their touchstone disregards all of Christianity's teachings: you are Christian or un-Christian as you accept or reject integration.

UNKIND CONDEMNATION

Others who pretend to believe that the Negro race is the equal in all respects, if not the superior, of the white race, tell us that Christians and church groups who believe in segregation, stand condemned because of their honestly held beliefs.

It will come as no surprise to you to learn that the National Council of Churches and its predecessors, the Federal Council of Churches, have for many years made racial integration in the churches of our Nation, one of its main objectives, and it is a deep regret to know that nearly every religious denomination in the United States, some in a small degree, and yet others in a larger degree, are using their central organization to work for integration. Many of our religious denominations, the NAACP, and it has the financial and moral backing of the American Jewish Congress in New York, committees of labor unions, and the Supreme Court of the United States, and both of the Nation's chief political parties, are all working together to achieve complete integration of the races, and this we know is the first step toward amalgamation, the consolidating and fusing into 1 race the 2, the white and black races.

One of the world's best known evangelists, Billy Graham, now conducting a revival in New York City, recently said that "He believes the church in the South should lead the way toward bettering racial relationships" and that ministers should take a "very

firm stand in teaching their people along these lines."

"Graham said he tries in his own evangelistic 'crusades' to 'set an example' and permits no racial segregation at such meetings."

In Minneapolis, May 1956, the Methodist Church condemned racial segregation by any method or practice. At Kansas City, May 1956, it was noted that the Southern Baptist Convention had 2 years before expressed its approval of the Supreme Court's decision banning segregation in public schools. In May 1956 the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States adopted a report calling for "total elimination" of racial segregation in the United States. In July 1955 one of the Presbyterian synods voted 283 to 151 in favor of desegregation in all its schools and churches.

It is almost unbelievable, yet it is true, that the Presbyterian Church in one of our Southern States, underwrote the race-mixing activities of the Communist-dominated NAACP, and advanced \$10,000 in cash to "relieve pressing obligations" of the NAACP.

In May 1956 the delegates to the annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina, voted overwhelmingly in favor of gradual integration in the churches; and an executive council report, urged the Episcopalians of North Carolina to abolish segregation in all public schools and to work diligently "in an effort to effect an orderly transition toward an integrated public-school system in the diocese of North Carolina."

The Fund for the Republic, an organization which often follows the Communist line and is being investigated by a congressional committee, recently made a grant of \$50,000 to the legal defense and educational fund of the NAACP.

It has organized a committee of social scientists to educate the Negroes as to their equal rights. This same Fund for the Republic also granted the Christian life commission of the Southern Baptist Convention \$15,000 to support interracial programs to ease racial tensions, in the North and South.

CONSCIENCE CANNOT BE FORCED

The church should remember that conscience cannot be forced even by fat grants of money from the Fund for the Republic.

It is more than passing strange that this new liberal doctrine of integrating the white and black races in all the churches never reared its ugly head until recent years, and then not until the black Monday (1954) decision of the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington, a Court headed, as Vice President Nixon called him, "a great Republican Chief Justice." The Vice President didn't say headed by a great judge. The rest of the Court dominated by Mr. Warren owe their appointment and office first of all to political considerations.

Not since reconstruction days when the Supreme Court cringed before the clamor of the mob have the people had less confidence in its judges and rulings than they have today.

In days now "gone with the wind," Americans could depend on the judgments of the Supreme Court when its decisions were generally based on settled constructions of the Constitution and followed known legal precedents.

Where, during the past century, were those who are now so anxious for the integration of the races? Why, all these years, did their convictions trouble them so little? Is it possible that only the Prophet Earl could summon them to repentance?

If it is today regarded by many so highly un-Christian to believe in the separation of the races, why wasn't it so generations and generations ago? Times and conditions change, but great fundamental principles are the same today as they were years ago.

IMPERISHABLE NAMES

Look back over the list of the justices who have sat on the United States Supreme Court. You find illustrious names like James Wilson, John Rutledge, John Marshall, Joseph Story, Roger B. Taney, Stephen J. Field, Horace Gray, Melville W. Fuller, David J. Brewer, Oliver W. Holmes, Charles E. Hughes, and William H. Taft. Many of the justices named served terms ranging from 10 to 30 years. They were not only wise jurists, but they were men who cherished the American way of life and revered the principles of our Constitution. Did any one of them ever suggest that it was un-Christian to believe, for the good of both races, and in the interest of law and order, that the separation of the races was un-Christian and should be done away with?

Recall the men who have served as Presidents of the United States, and who have left imperishable memories, do you find any word from them stigmatizing believers of segregation as un-Christian? Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson—did any of these great American statesmen condemn the millions and millions of their own race in America, who, in their day and time, believed in the wisdom of the separation of the races?

BIBLE PROOF FOR SEGREGATION

So, now, let us reason together and see if we who believe in the time-hallowed separation of the races, in our schools and in our churches, and who stand firm for our conscientious beliefs, are doing things that are unworthy of a Christian and abhorrent to God.

Let us go back to fundamentals. A Christian is one who bases his life on the teachings of Jesus Christ; and Christianity is a religion which adopts the doctrines taught by Christ. So let us turn now to the fountainhead, to Jesus Christ, to study His teachings and see if the separation of the races is un-Christian or was ever condemned by Him during His ministry here on earth.

Dr. J. E. Flow, of Concord, N. C., in a recent sermon, answered the question: Is segregation un-Christian? by stating that he believes in segregation for three reasons:

1. It is in harmony with the plan and purpose of God as the best means to prevent the amalgamation of the races;
2. It is in harmony with a well-known law of nature, stated in the proverb, "Birds of a feather will flock together." Sparrows will not flock with robins, nor crows with quail; and
3. Because experience has shown that race segregation contributes to harmony and peace among the races.

These words from Dr. Flow are worthy of keeping before us:

"Segregation was decreed by God Himself in one historical instance. God called Abram out of Ur of Chaldees, to go into the land which he should afterward receive as an inheritance. The patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, lived in that land for many years. Jacob's clan, because of famine, went down into Egypt, and were settled in the land of Goshen, where they remained 400 years. Then God sent Moses to lead the tribes of Israel out of Egypt into the wilderness for 40 years, and Joshua led them into the land of Canaan, where the various tribes were settled. For 1,500 years till the birth of Christ they were a segregated nation. They were forbidden by God to mingle socially, to intermarry or to amalgamate with the nations around them. They did not always obey God, but nevertheless God commanded it, and many times punished them when they disobeyed His command. If allowed to mingle socially with each other the inevitable result would be amalgamation

either with or without marriage. Then he notes:

"Out of that segregated nation, through inspired prophets from time to time, from Moses to Malachi, came the revealed will of God in the Old Testament. Out of that segregated nation came the Saviour of the world, and the New Testament which tells us of Him. Does anyone dare to say that God made a mistake in segregating the Jewish nation? Does anyone dare to say that segregation is wrong and un-Christian when the Almighty Himself did it?"

NO APPEASEMENT TO ATHEISTIC COMMUNISM

Recently, the Right Reverend Albert B. Thomas, retired bishop of South Carolina, wrote an article on Development or Obiteration, in which he expressed the view that many integrationists seemed to have the motive of appeasing atheistic communism abroad, and this, wrote the bishop, seems more important to them than the happiness and well-being of a large portion of our own land which would be made secure by the ancient and accepted principle of the separation of the races. The bishop, continuing further, said: "There is virtue, rather than sin, in the maintenance of the integrity of every race as it has come to be in the providence of God. Do we not read in Acts (17: 26, RSV) that God 'has made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation?' These words seem clearly to indicate a divine purpose for every race. The plain implication is a racial separation, not inconsistent with love, but rather the appointment of God. It is a wonderful thought in keeping with divine revelation that in the increasing purpose of God through the ages there is a part to be played by each separate race, through the maintenance of its own integrity, especially with its accomplished self-realization. The unity of all men in the Body of Christ, their personal equal value in the sight of God, is not denied by such a conception, but rather assumed."

Frequently, you hear a lot of clap-trap and expressions from some of the Negro preachers, designed to gain applause, that, "I don't want to be your brother-in-law! I want to be your brother." Of course, all Christians are brothers in Christ and in Him there is no east nor west. But there is no principle of Christian brotherhood which implies any sort of equality, over and beyond this; and, surely there is none which gives a person a "preemptive right" of intrusion where his presence is not wanted. It is unreasonable that the concept of brotherhood should be used to describe a condition of worldly equality.

WHAT IS BROTHERHOOD?

Dr. C. K. Brown of Davidson College, in a very interesting address, The White South Is a Minority Group, tells us that:

"Brothers are not equal and cannot be; brotherhood is status in a family. There are big brother and little brother, each with duties of his own and responsibility to the other. Nowhere in the New Testament can I find that it is the purpose of Christianity to wipe out the differences that exist among men. It deals not with the many points in which they differ, but with the one point in which they are all alike. Some men have black skins, but all have black hearts. In dealing with this common characteristic, Christianity does not destroy the differences of men. It does something grander than that; it makes those differences irrelevant. If Jesus had intended to endorse the struggles of men for worldly position and prerogative, He could never have said that the meek shall inherit the earth. And if all the differences were to be wiped out, little room would be left for the charity

enjoined by the rich 13th chapter of First Corinthians."

We Christians, who stand unawed by the insulting epithet of "un-Christian" and remain firm for the principle of segregation, find support in the Bible, Acts 17: 26, which reads:

"And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;"

The words, "hath made" mean that the Lord was acting in a sovereign will, power, wisdom, and disposal in setting the bounds of the habitation of the different races.

The word "nations," if you remember your Greek, comes from an ancient word "ethnos," meaning a multitude, whether of men or beasts, associated or living together of the same nature or genus, and this latter word "genus" means: "A category of classification between family and species, a group of structurally related species or an isolated species exhibiting unusual differentiation."

The writer of Acts, in using the word "nation," refers to the different races of the world, and not to the geographical boundaries of certain empires, nations, or republics.

The misguided integrationists, the people who want to destroy God's work in making and setting apart the great races of mankind, who want only one blood on the earth and that a mixture and amalgamation of white, black, and yellow, argue that their main support for integration of the races is the Golden Rule ("as you would that men should do to you, do you even so to them"). In the light of the verse I have just discussed from Acts, the race-mixtures have nothing upon which to stand. In the Golden Rule, Jesus was upholding the fair and just treatment of our fellow human beings. He was not thinking of the integration of the races, of destroying the work of His Father.

This new religion, which was revealed to us on black Monday, by Prophet Earl Warren, is gradually destroying many of our churches. Many Christians are leaving the integrationist churches and are staying at home.

A RELIGIOUS FRAUD

Prof. W. C. George, a native North Carolinian, connected with the School of Medicine at Chapel Hill, made a telling point in a recent address made at Dartmouth College, "Human Progress and the Race Problem." In this address he said:

"It is asserted that integration is the Christian way and that separation of the races is un-Christian. It is not clear why anything should be accepted as Christian when its virtue has not been demonstrated. Strange connotations have been given to words nowadays. I believe you will join me in saying that it is a religious fraud to claim that Christianity would require us to adopt a public policy that would lead to destruction of our race."

Later on in this splendid address, made in the heart of the integration country, Professor George tells us that many strange and evil things have been advocated in the name of religion. He recalls that there was a time when Abraham thought that his religion required him to sacrifice his son, Isaac, as a burnt offering to God. So today, the integrationists are telling us to sacrifice our children on the altar of integration.

When people ask you: Is it necessary for a Christian to support integration? You can answer with all confidence: No.

Is it our Christian duty to preserve the integrity of our race and the purity of its

blood strain as God Almighty created it? If we do not, we will become a hybrid race, and that, of course, is an inferior race.

WHY GOD CREATED THE RACES OF MANKIND

The Reverend James P. Dees, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, Statesville, N. C., recently asked this question and answered it: "How can this be the will of God or of Christ or even the natural product of natural processes or natural law? Even if there were no intermarriage—though I am convinced that that is what is intended—it is contrary to and violates principles intrinsic to the created order and to apparent universal moral law. Races, I believe, were created by God to witness to Him as races, as well as individuals were created to witness as individuals. Every race, I believe, should have something to contribute to the eternal plan."

Mr. Dees stated that his view that integration is contrary to the moral law, finds support in commonsense as you look around you. He says:

"Do blackbirds intermingle with the bluebirds? Does the redwing fly with the crows? Would it make sense for my senior warden to mix Black Angus cattle with his purebred Herefords? Commonsense, knotty-headed commonsense, cries out against it, 'No.' It is abhorrent to the natural created order. * * * I cannot conform my intellectual integrity to any other position than that the integration of the races is contrary to natural law, which natural law, even though corrupted, is the product of the hand of God."

PRESERVING RACIAL INTEGRITY

The North Carolina clergyman notes, as I stated at the beginning of this talk, that those of us who, true to the dictates of our conscience, believe in segregation are branded un-Christian and anti-Christian. He denies this false charge and says:

"I believe, to the contrary, that this position is more in harmony with the ultimate Christian position in this particular situation, than is the position of those who are pushing the contrary position, and certainly more in accord with natural law. * * * It is argued, and rightly so, that segregation discriminates against the Negro race in many areas. Where this is so, the answer is not unification, but rather a bettering of the discriminating situation. As one southern governor has stated: 'When schools are unequal, the remedy is not to destroy the schools or the law. The remedy is to require that the schools be made equal.' And with this I heartily concur. As the retired bishop of South Carolina, Rt. Rev. Albert S. Thomas has said: 'Where segregation is un-Christian, this is due to man's fallen nature, not to segregation itself.' The supreme command is 'Love thy neighbor.' I recognize my neighbor in the Negro. Carrying out this command implies helping him to attain to the fullest stature possible as a child of God, both as an individual and as a race. I am compelled to conclude that he can come to his fullest development when his racial integrity is preserved. The destruction of his racial integrity seems to me to be contrary to the natural primal creation of God and to natural law and to enlightened commonsense."

In the name of conscience, what is it that makes it so un-Christian, in the United States above all lands, where we stand for freedom of association and against association forced by law, for a person to sincerely desire to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, among his own people, among the people of his own race and moral standards?

Always remember that God created us as free agents and our right to select our associates is of vital importance to our happiness. No government and no court has the right to demand of us what people we must associate with and make our companions. This principle holds good in all conditions of life, especially in our social and religious relations.

I cannot find anything un-Christian in a group of loyal American people, sincere followers of Christ, building through their own efforts and sacrifices, and with their own money, a church where they may worship God—a temple into which their money and sacrifices are bulled and a church which no other race has contributed 1 cent to its building, and nothing whatever to its maintenance and desiring to worship there without intrusion.

THE RIGHT TO WORSHIP WITHOUT INTRUSION

Is it un-Christian for members of the white race, created by God himself, and who have always aided the Negro race, to better itself, to wish to remain members of the white race and to preserve the race as God created it? What is wrong with those whose conscience, and conscience, remember is the voice of God, tells them that their high moral duty is to preserve the integrity of the white race, wishing to worship God in temples bulled by their own hands, in their own way, according to their conscientious convictions and wishing to follow countless centuries of custom and practice.

HOLDS FAST TO GOD-GIVEN CONVICTIONS

And now, my friends, may we who believe in the Constitution of the United States as so soundly construed by upright and patriotic judges of wiser and happier times; we who worship God according to the dictates of our conscience; we who believe it to be a sacred duty to preserve the integrity of our race as God created it, and we who love our churches and who do not wish them disrupted, our church people torn and divided by dissension and discord—may we hold fast to our God given convictions, cling with fortitude to our beliefs and the ancient beliefs of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, and having taken our stand, may we be "steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that our labor is not in vain in the Lord."

INTEGRATION IS NOT INEVITABLE

Do not be deceived by all the talk that integration is inevitable; that it is bound to happen; that do what we may against it, integration is certain to come. Do not accept this defeatist attitude, do not swallow this deadly opiate.

Have faith in the commonsense of our people and in the final triumph of our right to worship God according to the command of our conscience. Let us pray that it is our God's will that this struggle for freedom of conscience and liberty of association will be won. Let us stand steadfast, yield not 1 inch, not be terrified and beaten back by the sinister forces of evil now rampant throughout the land, if we will do these things, then the victory will be ours:

"Ye that have faith to look with fearless eyes Beyond the tragedy of a world of strife.

And know that out of death and night shall Rise the dawn of ampler life:

Rejoice, whatever anguish rend the heart,

That God has given you the priceless dower To live in these great times and have your Part in Freedom's crowning hour.

That ye may tell your sons who see the light High in the heavens—their heritage to take—

I saw the powers of darkness take their flight; I saw the morning break."